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ABSTRACT

The Occasional Paper is intended as a resource document and is designed to provide teachers of Asian studies with an authoritative study of education in the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1969 where educational effort focuses upon the needs of society rather than the individual. The first twenty years of the history of the People's Republic of China is categorized in terms of six distinct periods of educational reforms. Each of these six periods is analyzed by Dr. S. M. Hu according to its political emphases, educational policy and curriculum trends. The first period of 1949 to 1952 was a consolidation of the regime built, the second period of 1953 to 1957 concentrated on the Five-Year Plan with strong Soviet influence, the third period of 1958 to 1959 impressed the world with the movement of communes and the "Great Leap Forward," the fourth period of 1960 to 1963 proceeded cautiously with a "retrenchment" program, the fifth period of 1964 to 1965 marked by a sharp two-line Party struggle, and the sixth period of 1966 to 1969 alarmed the world with the "Great Cultural Revolution" which means to prepare a new breed of generation. (Author)

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# EDUCATION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (MAINLAND) FROM 1949 TO 1969

by

DR. SHI MING HU

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# PREFACE

One of the many "spin-offs" of President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China has been a tremendous surge of interest in "things Chinese," from cooking to fashions to pandas, and so on. The study of Chinese history, culture, and language is enjoying a new popularity.

Visitors recently returning from the People's Republic of China report that the Chinese people seem very much involved in some form of education or re-education, and are intent upon improving themselves not for personal gain but rather for the purpose of serving the people.

For many Westerners such an educational effort, so directly related to the needs of the society rather than the individual, is difficult to comprehend. The development of an educational system in a country of approximately 800 million people is not a chance affair. Indeed, it is the result of two decades of conscious effort to develop a society and an educational system in which the expressed needs of others come before those of the self.

Educators report having difficulty locating authoritative studies concerning developments in the People's Republic of China. This Occasional Paper is intended as a resource, and is designed to provide teachers of Asian Studies with an authoritative study of education in the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1969.

The first twenty years of the history of the People's Republic of China is categorized in terms of six distinct periods of educational reforms:

(1) 1949-1952 (re-orientation and re-organization)
(2) 1953-1957 (strong Russian influence)
(3) 1958-1959 (the "Great Leap Forward")
(4) 1960-1963 (retrenchment)
(5) 1964-1965 (two-line Party struggle)
(6) 1966-1969 ("cultural revolution")

Each of these six periods is analyzed by Dr. S. M. Hu according to its political emphases, educational policy and curriculum trends. Although each period reflects a "unique and distinct change," the common element which unifies all these reforms is Mao Tse-tung's philosophy that mass education be led by the proletariat, serve the proletariat, and be directed toward the objective of socialist consciousness and productivity.

Stony Brook, New York

E.S.

# EDUCATION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (MAINLAND) FROM 1949 TO 1969

By

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As soon as the Chinese People's Republic was founded in 1949, education became one of the gigantic tasks of consolidating, reconstructing, and re-organizing the country under a strong centralized government with a different political ideology. As Priestley concluded:

> In order that the vast programme of social and economic change can come to fruition, the great mass of the Chinese population must will the changes into existence; they must, as the Communists style the process, experience a perpetual course of "ideological conversion." Because it renders such handsome service in the cause of this ideological conversion of the Chinese people, education is granted a position of enormous importance in the Chinese state.[1]

The paramount educational undertaking seemed to be complicated by the educational conditions when the new regime began its power. On the one hand, there were areas where the Chinese Communists had sporadically introduced some educational measures which reflected the communist ideology; on the other hand, there were major areas where the Nationalists left "an educational system whose basic outlines had been established in the 1920's and reflected a considerable degree of American influence."[2] Moreover, they "had no experience in operating a large educational system under settled conditions and had

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[1]K. E. Priestley Education in China (Hong Kong: The Green Pagoda Press Ltd. 1962). p. iv.

[2]Robert D. Barendsen. "Education in China: A Survey" Problems of Communism Vol. xiii No. 4 p. 19.

developed little in the way of pedagogical theory."[3]

Under such circumstances the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism appeared to be useful to the leaders of the Chinese People's Republic. As Barendsen pointed out:

> The Party leaders proceeded to apply some of the fundamental concepts of Marxism-Leninism to educational problems in order to work out general policy guidelines. One of their basic assumptions was that education and culture, as part of the "super-structure" of society, are mere reflections of the politico-economic base and as such, serve the interests of the dominant social class.[4]

Certainly Maoism, which has always been the guideline for all social reconstructions in the Chinese People's Republic has also been the direction for educational reforms.

Education in the Chinese People's Republic was not only to develop political consciousness in each individual, but to train specialists who possess specialized knowledge and useful skills desperately needed for fulfilling "the regime's ambitious plans to transform China into a modern industrialized state."[5] Thus, political consciousness and production became the two foundamental elements of educational policy in the Chinese

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[3]Robert D. Barendsen. "Education in China: A Survey." Problems of Communism, Vol. xiii. No. 4. p. 20.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

People's Republic. They have remained unchanged in the last twenty years, although the expression of the elements, the tactics to achieve them, and the control over them by the Communist Party, have varied on the bases of the national emphasis made each year. As a result, constant reforms in education have always been carried on; the six distinct periods of educational reforms within a range of twenty years seem to signify the constant changes in education.

According to Chao Tzien, a commentator of Min Pao (Bright News) in Hong Kong, the six periods are: (1) the period of 1949 to 1952, a period of re-orientation and re-organization in education; (2) the period of 1953 to 1957, a period of strong Russian influence; (3) the period of 1958 to 1959, a period of "Great Leap Forward"; (4) the period of 1960 to 1963, a period of retrenchment; (5) the period of 1964 to 1965, a period of two-line Party struggle; and (6) the period of 1966 to 1969, a period of "cultural revolution."[6]

1. The Period of 1949 to 1952.

a. Political Emphases. When the Chinese People's Republic assumed full power over the China mainland in the middle of 1949, a series of nationwide re-roientation, consolidation,

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[6]Chao Tzien. "Twenty Years of Communist Education." Min Pao (Hong Kong: September 26, 1969).

and re-organization immediately began, because of the entirely different poltical ideology held by the leaders. Mao Tse-tung himself stated vividly in his essay on the eve of winning full control over the mainland in 1949:

> During this period the state power will be vested in a coalition of the four classes (the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national burgeoisie), under the leadership of the proletariat with the purpose of wiping out feudal vestiges and imperialism.[7]

Mao carefully defined "the people's democratic dictatorship" as "democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries."[8] He said:

> As the present state in China, they (the people) are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. These classes led by the working class and the Communist Party unite to form their own state and elect their own government . . . Democracy is practised within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the right of freedom of speech assembly association and so on. The right to vote belongs only to the people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship.[9]

To make a long story short, at this early stage, Mao seemed to tolerate all members of the reactionary classes as

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[7]Winberg Chai (ed.). Essential Works of Chinese Communism (New York: Bantam Books. 1969) p. 253.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., pp. 261.

long as they created no trouble, or did not rebel; he also believed that remoulding the reactionary could be achieved. There is little doubt that these basic political emphases led to a general reform in education.

b. Educational Policy. Although at the beginning, there were no systematic educational reforms, the application of Marxism-Leninism seemed to be patent. As Fraser stated:

> Even in this initial stage of Communist control some of the harshness and dogmatism of Chinese Marxism quickly became apparent. The scientific application of neototalitarian ideas in education, not apparent to the main bulk of the academics previously at last was fully revealed.[10]

Numerous documents of the Chinese People's Republic concerning the new education are of similar accent, if not identical. Three articles in "the Common Program" of 1949 seemed to set the tone for educational reforms. They are as follows:

> Article 41. The culture and education of the Chinese People's Republic are new democratic, that is, national scientific, and popular. The main tasks for raising the cultural level of the people are: training of personnel for national construction work; and developing of the ideology of serving the people.
>
> Article 46. The method of education of the People's Government shall reform the old educational system, subject matter, and teaching methods systematically according to plan.
>
> Article 47. In order to meet the widespread needs of revolutionary work and national construction work,

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[10] Stewart Fraser, Chinese Communist Education (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press 1965), p. 13.

> universal education shall be carried out. Middle and higher education shall be strengthened; technical education shall be stressed; the education of workers during their spare time and the education of cadres who are at their post shall be strengthened; and revolutionary political education shall be accorded to young intellectuals and old-style intellectuals in a planned and systematic manner.[11]

It is self-evident that Article 41 supplied the direction of education, Article 46 demanded a definite termination of the old educational system left by the nationalists, and Article 47 prescribed the structure of the desired system. It seems unmistakable that the articles from which the educational policy of the Chinese People's Republic are derived. are based upon Mao's idea of the culture in "New Democracy." As Liu Shih, Vice-minister of Education from 1952 to 1959, pointed out that "it was the system of education which Comrade Mao Tse-tung describes in his New Democracy as 'national, scientific, and popular,' . . ."[12] More precisely and specifically, the overall educational policies of the Chinese People's Republic are: (1) to institute a mass education led by the proletariat; (2) to cultivate in each individual, political (or socialist) consciousness, national and international, and develop skills for national construction; and (3) to apply Mao's model of thinking in all kinds of knowledge.

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[11] Stewart Fraser Chinese Communist Education (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press 1965) pp. 83-84.

[12] Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily News) Oct. 3 1951.

These general educational policies have always been the guide for educational reforms in the Chinese People's Republic with only a different stress in each period. By the same token, curriculum has shifted in accordance with political emphasis.

c. Curriculum Trends. Within the short period of 1949 to 1952. curriculum reform conformed with the new educational system, which called for a complete re-organization of higher education and shortening the primary school years, (formerly six years of primary school was to change into five years). The basic principles for curriculum reform were indicated also in the Common Program of 1949. The following articles seemed to have special meaning for the curriculum development:

> Article 43. Efforts shall be made to develop the natural sciences to place them at the service of industrial agricultural and national defense construction. Scientific discoveries and inventions shall be encouraged and rewarded, and scientific knowledge shall be popularized.
>
> Article 44. The application of a scientific historical viewpoint to the study and interpretation of history economics politics culture and international affairs shall be promoted. Outstanding works of social science shall be encouraged and rewarded.
>
> Article 45. Literature and the arts shall be promoted to serve the people to enlighten the political consciousness of the people and to encourage the

> labor enthusiasm of the people. Outstanding works of literature and the arts shall be encouraged and rewarded.
>
> Article 48. National sports shall be promoted. Public health and medical work shall be extended and attention shall be paid to safeguarding the health of mothers infants and children.[13]

It is apparent that these articles explicitly gave social (or national) concern a far superior position to anything else; political studies thus became the center of the entire curriculum at all levels. A preliminary reformation of curriculum was made in a uniform manner.

One of the most spectacular educational changes in the Chinese People's Republic at that time was "the wholesale re-organization of higher educational institutions."[14] It is observed that the curriculum reform of higher education was concentrated on the following phases: (1) reinforcement of political-ideological education; (2) productive labor as an important constituent of the program; (3) development of various specialized branches to meet the need of national construction; (4) the special subject of Marxist-Leninist theories as the nucleus in the curriculum; and (5) uniform plan governing by an extremely rigid central force.

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[13] Liu Shih "China's New Educational System." People's China (Vol. IV No. 11 Dec. 1951). pp. 5-8.

[14] Robert D. Barendsen "Education in China: A Survey" Problems of Communism (Vol.viii, No. 4 ) p. 21.

Whatever the educational reforms might be, the first stage (1949-52) seemed to reflect the political and economic demands of the restoration of the country. This was true in higher education as well as at the other level of education. Moreover, there was also a growing sign of Soviet influence. A member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Chen Po-ta stressed:

> It is very important to study Soviet science . . . The contributions the Soviet scientists have made and their methods of work are things we must learn. . . . generally speaking the good things in British and American science have already been absorbed by the Soviet scientists; hence the quickest and best way is to learn from the Soviet Union.[15]

With the help of Soviet educators and the assistance of the Soviet Union's advanced educational experiences education in the Chinese People's Republic became more and more Soviet oriented. Russian influence seemed to reach the peak in the next period.

2. The Period of 1953 to 1957.

a. Political Emphases. After the cornerstone of the Chinese People's Republic was laid and the preliminary groundwork had been made for three years, the government formulated more ambitious programs for national construction, which seemed to have the intent of bringing every aspect of the reforms and/or developments under the power of the central organ, the Chinese Communist

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[15] Stewart Fraser. Chinese Communist Education (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1965) pp. 184-185.

Party. Politically, more machinaries were set up to guide the process. Some important documents were completed at this period. For instance, the Constitution of the New Democratic Youth League of China was adopted in 1953, the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic was adopted in 1954 , and the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party was adopted in 1956. Undoubtedly, all of them were strongly affected by the Soviet Union. As Chai concluded:

> In fact, most of the 1954 Constitution was copied directly from the Soviet Constitution of 1936, using a different terminology. For instance, the Chinese People's Republic is described as "a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants" (Article 1), whereas, according to the Soviet Constitution, the "Union of Soviet Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants" (Article 1). And again, the so-called "people's democratic dictorship" in the preamble of the Chinese Communist Constitution is just another version of the Soviet Russian "proletarian dictotorship."[16]

In addition, the government of the Chinese People's Republic held a nationwide election of 1953-54, in order to give itself and its politics a formal constitutional standing based upon popular sanction. Although the election was nothing more than a performance on the stage, it seemed to give people a sense of participation in the process of government. "In all this, the Party follows closely the pattern set by the

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[16] Winberg Chai (ed.). Essential Works of Chinese Communism (New York: Bantam Books, 1969). p. 269.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union."[17]

To highlight the Soviet influence, the first Five-Year Plan originated in Russia, was launched. This was a clear indication that the government of the Chinese People's Republic began to turn to the more practical aspects of its economic and political program after 1953. The Five-Year Plan set its goal at heavy industry on the one hand, and tightening political control on the other.

b. Educational Policy. Among the chief constitutions of the Chinese People's Republic, the Constitution of the New Democratic Youth League seemed to have a direct impact on education, since the majority of its members are composed by the youth between the age of fourteen and twenty-five, and its main function is to assist the Party to carry out a full control within schools. The tightening of Party control was also reflected in various thought reforms. For example, the ideology of the "progress elements" of the working class was impressed upon the teachers by means of "servere criticism and self-criticism." Other intellectuals were subjected to a continuous dialectic struggle, which came to an end only when they submissively promised to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.[18]

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[17] C.T. Hu, China: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1960), p. 181.

[18] Ibid., p. 184.

Along with the organizational plan to enforce full party control, a stregthening of political supervision and education in the schools, and a tightening up of political requirements for entrance into higher educational institutions were also evident.[19]

Secondly, the Five-Year Plan certainly intensified the educational policy of education for productivity in the Chinese People's Republic. because the goals of the Five-Year Plan set on heavy industrialization, demanded more schools for training technicians and engineers. According to Hu, "the plan called for the establishment, by the end of 1957, of 140 technical training schools for workers in the various sectors of industry . . . as compared with twenty-two such schools in 1952."[20] Of course, all the involvements of the Plan could not be implemented without the aid of the Soviet Union. Therefore, Soviet technicians, trainers, and advisers were pouring into the Chinese People's Republic by the hundreds, during this period. The leaders of the Chinese People's Republic themselves also openly praised the developments in the Soviet Union, and encouraged people to learn from the Soviet Union. There is no question that this

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[19]Chao Chung Yang I-fan, "Students in Mainland China," Communist China Problem Research Series (Hong Kong: The Union Research Institute, June 1956), p. i.

[20]C.T. Hu, China: Its People Its Society Its Culture (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1960), p. 289.

period marked the peak of the Chinese People's Republic borrowing and learning from the Soviet Union.

c. Curriculum Trends. Generally, the strong Soviet influence was seen throughout the nation. In education, a head-to-toe Soviet imitation was demonstrated not only in overall educational policy, but in methods and contents. Thousands of thousands of Soviet teaching guides and textbooks were translated and put into use in the schools at all levels. The Soviet materials and methods were strongly recommended and urged. As revealed in Jen Min Chiao Yu in 1953:

> Besides already translating scores of course outlines used in the Soviet pedagogical institutes to serve as reference, it is still necessary to vigorously organize our resources to systematically translate Soviet teaching materials and, using Soviet teaching materials as our blueprint step by step revise our own teaching materials in order to combine with the actual conditions in China.[21]

One other interesting report of the Soviet influentialness on the teaching materials for primary and secondary schools was made by Chao Chung. He stated:

> Beginning in 1953, all middle schools in the country adopted new teaching texts for sciences courses. These followed Soviet texts but with due consideration to actual conditions in China. . . .
>
> . . . the textbooks on physics, chemistry, and algebra now used in senior middle schools were originally copied from Sovied textbooks intended for their 8th and 10th years classes of their ten-year middle school system.

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[21] Ch'en Hsuan-shan, "Sah Nien Lai Ti Shih Fan Chiao Yu," Jen Min Chiao Yu (January 5, 1953), p. 23.

> The textbook on geogrophy now used in junior middle schools was re-written from the natural geography textbook prepared by the Soviet writers, Balikov and Borodin, and intended for use in the 5th year class of their seven-year middle school system.
>
> In the textbook on language study. Book I, used in primary schools there are two rather lengthy chapters which were originally translated from the textbook used in the first year class in Soviet primary school. These chapters are Chapter XXX entitled "Big Carrot." and Chapter XXXIX entitled "Obey Mother's Word."
>
> Outside of these instances it may be mentioned that the language textbook used in primary school are replete with translated materials from Soviet texts.[22]

However, the grandeur of the Soviet Union did not last long; the "high tide" of Soviet influence on reforms and constructions in the Chinese People's Republic during this period could not stay high forever. Indeed, it came as a dear friend and disappeared as an enemy. It subsided along with the increase of the Sino-Soviet conflicts; the relationship between the two nations began to deteriorate in the next period. When the state held up another flag of national policy, educational naturally followed suit.

3. Period of 1958 to 1959.

a. Political Emphases. As a result of the first Five-Year Plan (1953-57), which was considered rather successful, an accelerated national construction program was initiated

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[22] Chao Chung Yang I-fan "Student in Mainland China," Communist China Problems Research Series (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1958), p. 53.

in the Chinese People's Republic in 1958. It was "the big psychological push of the Great Leap Forward slogans and the launching of rural communes."[23] The three eye-catching calligraphies--Great Leap Forward--seemed to bring the entire population and all the party apparatus to a frenetic state of mass enthusiasm and belief in the impossible,[24] regardless the consequences.

It is apparent that the political emphasis during this period was to place politics in greater command of rural area productively and politically. The identifiable campaign of the commune movement seemed to offer a clear indication of this emphasis. The Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas issued by the government of the Chinese People's Republic stated that "the primary purpose of establishing people's communes is to accelerate the speed of socialist construction and the purpose of building socialism is to prepare actively for the transition to communism."[25]

The establishment of the people's commune was supposed to have some foundamental advantages for leadership, but internationally, the idea of the commune movement seemed to annoy the

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[23]Edgar Snow, The Other Side of the River (New York: Random House. 1962), p. 174.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Winberg Chai (ed.), Essential Works of Chinese Communism (New York: Bantam Books. 1969), p. 352.

Soviet Union. As Snow wrote:

> Moscow's reaction was at first coutious and then increasingly negative . . . . How could China more backward than Russia, attempt any such transition toward communism? . . . Their appearance and continuation even in modified form, however, were to add greatly to the developing tension between Moscow and Peking.[26]

This growing tension between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic had, no doubt, affected the subsequent educational policy. Moreover, the commune movement was carried so suddenly that even the cadres of peasant origin did not realize all the technical problems and social implications. Therefore, in spite of the impressive "Great Leap Forward" figures of products, there were abundant disorders and confusions. By the end of the year, the leaders of the Chinese People's Republic admitted openly that the communes had been instituted too quickly without sufficient preparation and had the excesses come to a halt.[27]

Since the structure of the people's commune accompanied by "Great Leap Forward " altered the Chinese life completely, the commune movement and the banner of "Great Leap Forward" unquestionably affected education in the Chinese People's Republic. As Klepikov stated:

> . . . now the life of the Chinese people began to consist of one campaign after another, in which the

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[26] Edgar Snow, The Other Side of the River (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 431-432.

[27] Ibid., pp. 434-435.

> educational institutions were also involved. School children were urged to promote to the great leap forward. to smelt metal in homemade furnaces, to support the people's communes, to destroy sparrows and flies to eliminates mice. to pattern themselves in all things on the army, etc. . . . The policy of the great leap forward and the people's communes had a dire effect on life in China. . . . . This inevitably affected education.[28]

b. Educational Policy. In response to the "Great Leap Forward" the former educational policy of "education for productivity" advanced one step further. It became "combining education with productive labor." In this respect, Lu Ting-Yi made a rather detailed statement to explain what "combining education with productive labor" meant. He said:

> The combination of education with productive labor is required by our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, by the great goal of building a communist society and by the need to develop our education with greater. faster, better, and more economical results.[29]

Whether or not the development of education during this period was "greater, faster, better. and economical," the impressive statistical figures seemed to give some indication. According to a report in 1958, the following figures were given:

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[28] V. Z. Klepikov "The Fate of Public Education in China," translated by J. Barry Elliott, China Education Vol. I., No. 4 (Winter. 1968-69), N.Y.: International Arts and Sciences Press p. 41.

[29] Lu Ting-yi. "Education Must be Combined with Productive Labor " Peking Review Vol. I., No. 28 (Sept. 1959), pp. 3-9.

"The Big Leap in Education"[30]

| | Primary School (Students in thousands) | Secondary School (Students in thousands) | Higher Ed. (Students in thousands) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 23,680 | 1,880 | 155 |
| 1949 | 24,390 | 1,270 | 117 |
| 1952 | 51,100 | 3,140 | 194 |
| 1957 | 64,280 | 7,030 | 444 |
| 1958 | 92,000 | 14,000 | 790 |

Undoubtedly, the above statistics revealed an incredibly fast progress of education in the Chinese People's Republic in terms of quantity. Nevertheless, the other end of the log-quality, remained to be a question, although tremendous achievement was made as proclaimed by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

c. Curriculum Trends. In general, the Directive of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council on Educational Work in 1958 seemed to set the specific goals for education. It "called for a speed-up of the cultural revolution in order to obliterate illiteracy and to produce tens of millions of 'red and expert' intellectuals of the working class."[31] The Directive also ordered "that schools of all levels should make specific provision for regular labor activities by every student."[32] Because the leaders of the Chinese People's

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[30]"The Big Leap in Education," Peking Review, Vol. I., No. 40 (December, 1958), pp. 15-16.

[31]Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "The Popularization of Higher Education in Communist China," Information on Education Around the World, No. 14, August 1959, p. 1.

[32]Ibid., p. 4.

Republic considered productive labor as a part of education, they felt that educational program should not be limited to study alone. The half-work half-study plan, thus, became popular in higher education.[33]

The experiment of the five-year unified primary school system, and the experiment of the ten-year primary-middle system or the three-year junior middle and two-year senior middle, were also tried out in many communities. Indeed, all kinds of schools mushroomed during this period at an almost impossible rate throughout the nation. For example, in Kwang-an Hsien of Szechwen province, there were seventy-three middle schools started in four days. A new type of agricultural middle school was founded in Kaingsu province at the number of two, but reached the number of thirty thousand in one year.[34] A new type of "labor university" first appeared in Kaingsi province. (Both the agricultural middle school and the labor university became the antecedent of the half-work half-study system officially announced in 1965.)

In line with the new emphasis on educational policy "red and expert," political education, which has always been of supreme importance in the Chinese People's Republic, was required

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[33]Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "The Popularization of Higher Education in Communist China," Information on Education Around the World. No. 24, August, 1959, p. 5.

[34]Chao Tsien, "Twenty Years of Communist Education," Min Pao (Hong Kong: September, 26, 1969).

of students in all schools. The political education which began in the first period was getting more and more attention. As a result, the motto of "red and expert" seemed to be out of balance during this period. "red" seemingly became more important than "expert."

This period indeed, inscribed a critical turning point for the school system in the Chinese People's Republic in regard to its political campaigns. The changes were not only in the content of children's and young people's education, but in the upbringing of the children. As Klepikov concluded:

> It marked the start of the switch to rearing the rising generation in a spirit agreeble to Mao Tse-tung and his Peking clique, in the spirit of hatred of the Soviet Union and the peoples who inhabit it. In other words, the Chinese leaders armed themselves with the ideas of the ultra-rightist bourgeois elements. Subsequent uears were marked by a swelling wave of anti-Sovietism, which penetrated all levels and forms of education in China, and by the boundless eulogy of Mao Tse-tung and his "infallibility."[35]

4. Period of 1960 to 1963.

a. Political Emphases. It is generally observed that the idea of the commune popularized in the Chinese People's Republic somehow disturbed the Soviet Union; along with other differences in opinion between the two nations, the Sino-Soviet tension increased. Eventually, on the nineteenth anniversary of

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[35] V.Z. Klepikov, "The Date of Public Education in China," translated by J. Barry Elliott, China Education, Vol. I, No. 4 (Winter 1968-69), N.Y.: International Arts and Sciences Press, p. 41.

Lenin's birth in April, 1960, the Sino-Soviet dispute was brought into the open. The relationship between the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union worsened, as indicated by the withdrawal of Soviet technicians from China in 1960 and the open attacks on Soviet "revisionism."[36] In the course of the increasing Sino-Soviet conflicts, it was natural that the Soviet influence must go; Maoism became the only belief for the people of the Chinese People's Republic to follow, politically or otherwise.

In addition to the international controversy in the Chinese People's Republic, there were also internal factors. One major complication seemed to originate in the banner of "Great Leap Forward," and the commune movement; the unfulfilled expectations in agriculture and economy were so severe that the entire national construction and policy had to be re-examined. It seemed that "the bitter years of harvest failures and the withdrawal of Soviet aid,"[37] also gave the old class of capitalists and functionaries a chance to attack the political ideology. They made many political proposals, which indicated the tendency of a restoration of capitalism. Surprisingly enough, many of their schemes were either totally or partially carried out.[38]

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[36] Winberg Chai (ed.), Essential Works of Chinese Communism (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), p. xiv.

[37] Joan Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 147.

[38] Ibid.

In response to this tendency of restoring capitalism, Mao Tse-tung immediately launched his "socialist education campaign" in 1962. "The purposes were (1) to purify the ideology and to rectify revisionist tendencies; and (2) to re-establish socialist collective controls over the economy, especially in the rural areas."[39] Along with Mao's campaign, the regime reset new guidelines for the post "Great Leap Forward." They were "adjustment, strengthening, soundness, and high-quality."[40]

b. Educational Policy. As indicated previously, during the period of the "Great Leap Forward," tens of thousands of schools were rapidly founded in various localities, because of the Party campaign of "developing education with greater, faster, better and more economical result," and the slogan of "walking on two legs." (The educational implication of "walking on two legs" was the policy providing for localities and factories to operate their own schools, and the policy providing full-time schools, spare-time schools and other types of school to coordinate work and study programs.) However, considering the acknowledged complexity of educational development, the overnight establishment of schools in the Chinese People's Republic was likely to encounter many difficulties. One of them seemed

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[39] Winberg Chai (ed.), Essential Works of Chinese Communism (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), p. 402.

[40] Chao Tzien, "Thirty Years of Communist Education" Min Pao (Hong Kong: September 26, 1969).

to be the quality of education. As Barendsen observed:

> It would also appear that the cumulative effects of the stress placed on productive labor and political activism under the 1958 educational reforms had seriously affected standards of teaching and learning in the nation's schools, particularly at the upper levels. These conditions gave rise in the spring of 1961 to renewed official concern with the quality of education, . . .[41]

In respect to the problem of education quality in the Chinese People's Republic, efforts were made to have a new shift in educational policy. First indication was a halt of the greater and faster development of the education enterprise as illustrated by the national enrollment figure of all students; the number in 1960-61 was about one million less than in 1959-60.[42] Secondly. a balance of "red and expert" was announced, since one other factor that contributed to the low standard of education seemed to be the consequence of the heavy emphasis on "red" than on "expert." There was also noted reduction of the time assigned to political and labor activities to provide teachers and students with more time for schoolwork.

One other aspect of emphasis in education worth mentioning was the "mass line" science, which was actually based upon Mao's socialist education. Mao said:

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[41]Robert D. Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," Problems of Communism, Vol. xiii, No. 4, p. 9.

[42]Ibid.

> Whatever the problem - whether it concerns food, natural calamities, employment, education, the intellectuals, the united from of all patriotic forces, the minority nationalities, or anything else - we must always proceed from the standpoint of overall planning which takes the whole people into consideration and must make proper arrangement, . . .[43]

Of course, the fact that increasing difficulties with the Soviet Union meant withdrawal of scientific and technical personnel, demanded even larger numbers of scientists and technicians; this seemed to leave the government of the Chinese People's Republic no other choice but to train scientific research personnel on a large scale. The widening gap between the two nations was also reflected in the curriculum.

c. Curriculum Trends. The most obvious one was the return of English as the first foreign language in curriculum. As Barendsen mentioned, "Another change reflecting the growing Sino-Soviet estrangement was the official encouragement of a revival of the study of English in Chinese schools."[44] Other Soviet oriented subjects and teaching materials were either reduced or eliminated.

In connection with the academic standards, the leaders in education in the Chinese People's Republic also acknowledged

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[43] Foreign Languages Press, Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), p. 373.

[44] Robert Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," Problems of Communism, Vol. xiii, No. 4, p. 9.

the backwardness in curriculum. For example, the Minister of Education, Yan Hsiu-fen, flatly stated that much of the sciences (physics and chemistry) and mathematics in secondary schools was out dated; he proposed a quick initiation of the most advanced sciences and technology,[45] and made guidelines for curriculum revision to meet the need.

However, in reality a complete revision of the texts was not materialized. Perhaps because the political leaders were reluctant to give up the political indoctrination, the curriculum swang back to the program with political studies superior to others. As Barendsen pointed out:

> Although efforts to improve the academic quality of school instruction continued during 1962 and 1963, they were gradually over-shadowed by a re-emergence of the regime's preoccupation with political indoctrination. . . . by the spring of 1963, the pendulum had swung back so far that . . . the strengthening of ideological training as the foremost requirement for improving the quality of education in the nation's schools.[46]

And the idea of productive labor was also revived. By the summer of 1963, physical labor was once again considered as the best form of "class education." All schools were ordered to see that their students had the benefit of physical labor,

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[45]Robert Barendsen, "Planned Reforms in the Primary and Secondary School System in Communist China," Information on Education Around the World (No. 45, August, 1960), p. 9.

[46]Robert Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," Problems of Communism, Vol. xiii, No. 4, p. 9.

especially on the farms.[47] This seemed to lead to a new educational system, which became the major development in education prior to the cultural revolution of 1966.

5. The Period of 1964 to 1965.

a. Political Emphases. The year of 1964 was earmarked by the slogan, "A bad thing turned into a good thing," because it was said that Chinese technicians were stimulated to solve the problems remained un-solved. Apparently this referred to the cancellation of the Soviet aids which left many projects unfinished. Nevertheless, time seemed to have brought the Chinese back from the shock of the withdrawal of the Soviet technical assistants; harvests seemed to improve from 1962 onwards.[48] Under such a seemingly stable condition, the new political target was aimed at the Party persons in authority, because some of them were considered as the Rightist, who intended to restore capitalism. This, in fact, set the stage for the full flame of the "cultural revolution."

The Rightists who insisted on the need for authority and organizatbn, seemed to believe in the hierarchical structure, which is based upon a chain of command from the top down. They, of course, would like to run the state in accordance with their own

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[47]Robert D. Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey." Problems of Communism, Vol. xiii, No. 4. p. 9.

[48]Jean Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 83.

ideas.[49] This situation seemed to polarize the central power of the Chinese People's Republic. Indeed, the conflict within the Central Committee became sharper and sharper with Liu Shao-ch'i leading one line, Mao the other, because of their status and their basic differences in economy. Liu apparently opposed Mao's principles of cooperation and collective responsibility. As Robinson pointed out:

> Liu advocated the extension of plots for private use, the extension of the rural fairs at which individual households could sell their products in conditions of a free market, the increase in the number of small enterprises in the villages run on the principle of private profit, and the fixing of output quotas in the annual production plan on the basis of households instead of on the basis of teams or brigades.[50]

Thus, a new rectification campaign was urged by Mao in 1964, to clean problems in four areas: politics, ideology, organization, and the economy. However, the campaign for the "four clean-up" movement was somehow deflected to the purposes of the Rightists. In order to get it back on to his line, Mao issued the directives of the "Twenty-three Article Document," during January 1965, in which he stressed that the target of the movement was the Party persons in authority who were taking the capitalist line.[51]

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[49] Joan Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 16-17.

[50] Ibid. pp. 81-82.

[51] Ibid. p. 83.

This seemed to accelarate a confrontation between revisionism and Maoism, which was brought into public in 1966. The reflection of the political conflict during this period was, by all means, observable in the field of education.

b. Educational Policy. In view of the growing tension of political discord within the regime, the re-emphasis on political education, and on labor performance carried over from the previous period, gained in momentum. "The move culminated in the decision of December 1965 eventually to transfer the entire education system into one based on the concept of half-work half-study,"[52] originated from the rationale for establishing the agricultural middle school during the period of "Great Leap Forward."

The general educational policy during this period was to maintain the existing full-time schools and push the development of the half-work half-study schools, a so-called "two-track educational system and two kinds of labor," advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i. Under his great endeavor, half-work half-study schools developed fast in 1964.

At this point some clarafication is needed. Basically, the half-work half-study system was, by no means, contradictory to Mao's educational idea. However, because of Liu's "two-track

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[52] Donald J. Munro, "The Current Anti-Intellectual Campaign in Perspective," Current Scene, Vol. 4, No. 2 (June 1, 1966), p. 3.

educational system,"[53] and because of the growing political conflict between Mao and Liu, the "two-track educational system and two kinds of labor" proposed by Liu did not seem to have Mao's support. Yet, at that time, Liu was in the highest political position (the President of the Chinese People's Republic), so he tried to use it and insisted on his educational idea, regardless what Mao had in his mind. As a result, half-work half-study schools spread quickly.

It seemed that in addition to the re-emphasis on political education and on labor performance, there were also economic reasons for implementing this new type of school. Again according to Barendsen, the economic rationale was:

> The new mold . . . had some obvious economic advantages in that it enabled the students' labor to be better integrated with that of the rest of the working rural population and provided a more stable and less complicated method of meeting the costs of the schools.[54]

Moreover, because the tuition accounted for the major portion of the cost for running the schools was paid by the students from their earning during the labor season, the commune or the government only had to pay the differences.

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[53] Wang Hsuan-tze, "General Review of Culture, Education in the Communist China in 1969," Studies of Chinese Communism, Vol. I, No. 12 (December 31, 1969), Taiwan: The Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, p. 80.

[54] Robert D. Barendsen, Half-Work Half-Study Schools in Communist China, (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1964), p. 38.

It is interesting to note that the learning experience provided for the students while they were working in the commune, was on a self-study and group-discussion basis. In order to enable the students to work, the school year was operated on a very different base. The claimed advantage on the part of the student was that lessons were practical and related to daily life; on the part of the government, it was the availability of more labor power, and of course, the idea of training intellectuals and workers at the same time was no less important. Because the concept of work-study dominated "official thinking on academic development,"[55] the practice soon spread.

c. Curriculum Trends. Since the main educational concern during this period was the development of the half-work half-study school, perhaps it is more valid to discuss the curriculum trends via the analysis of the curriculum in this kind of school.

As mentioned before, the idea of half-work half-study had its root in the agricultural middle school. In general, there were four basic courses taught in the agricultural middle school; they were Chinese language, mathematics, politics, and basic knowledge of agriculture (or technology), only with greater

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55 Vaughan Kelly, "The Making of a Proletarian Intelligentsia," China Report, Vol. 4, No. 11 (October 1, 1968), p. 4.

emphasis on practical aspect.[56] For instance, in the language course, training was concentrated on common usage such as writing letters, notices, labor contracts, and reports.

As for higher education, the idea of half-work half-study was in general carried out in the "labor university." The curriculum in those labor universities, followed the principle of a close coordination among class study, experimental work and productive labor, but political education was particularly stressed. While half of the classroom time was spent on theoretical courses, and half on labor courses, politics was supposed to occupy the largest proportion of time allocated to the theoretical courses.[57]

In view of the intensification of Mao's purge campaign within the Chinese Communist Party, political education reached an all-time high level. Eventually, the political revolution, which called for a thorough reform in Party, politics, economy and culture, made education come to a complete halt throughout the nation. When the cultural revolution broke out in 1966, almost all schools in the Chinese People's Republic were unable to function and had to close. The phenomenon of the cultural revolution was, indeed, unprecedented in the history of China, and perhaps in the history of the world.

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[56] Robert D. Barendsen, Half-Work Half-Study Schools in Communist China, (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1964), p. 3.

[57] Ibid., p. 50.

6. The Period of 1966 to 1969.

a. Political Emphases. According to most accounts, the Chinese cultural revolution, which was also referred to as the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution, or the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, officially began in 1966. Because of Maoist belief that "socialist revolution is a continuing process and that ideological revolution, an integral part of the socialist revolution, should be carried out by a series of class struggle, . . . "[58] continuous revolutions were inevitable. Of course, the anti-socialist rightists (or rivisionists), who were said to take shelter in the Party authority, were the chief target. As noted previously, Mao's intensive rectification campaign launched in 1964, was aimed at the Party persons. When the conflict within the Party grew bitterly tense, the struggle became active and open.

The usual technique of expressing individual opinions by writing posters was employed to make a dramatic attack upon the head of Peking University; the poster attack was generally considered as the opening fire in the cultural revolution. In no time at all, the revolution spread widely, and immediately followed by an outbreak of criticism on top Party men in their

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58 K. H. Fan, The Chinese Cultural Revolution (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), p. 1.

administration.[59]

At first, it seemed that the Rightists appealed to the majority and they tried to isolate the rebel youth; even when at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party called by Chairman Mao in August, 1966, he seemed to be in a minority as opposed by the group led by Liu Shao-ch'i. However, the course changed as soon as Mao put up his own poster titled "Bombard the Headquarter," and the Central Committee issued the guidelines of the Sixteen Points following an adoption of the cultural revolution as Party policy. "Rebels took heart; student groups organized as Red Guards flooded into Peking and Mao Tse-tung put himself at their head."[60] The movement expanded to the industrial enterprises from the Red Guards. Within a short period, the Red Guards developed throughout the nation, in schools, factories and rural areas. According to the People's Daily News, the Mission of the Red Guards was to destroy the old and establish the new. It stated:

> The revolutionary Red Guards set about destroying the "four olds" (old ideas, culture, customs, and habits) of the exploiting classes on a large scale and extensively fostered the "four news" (new ideas, culture, customs, and habits) of the proletariat. Playing the role of the vanguard, they stand foremost in the criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line.[61]

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[59] Joan Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 18.

[60] Ibid., p. 19.

[61] Jen Min Jih Pao, January 1, 1967.

Finally in February, 1967, the Congress of the Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, together with three other Red Guard headquarters in Peking, was formed. In the adopted Declaration of the Congress of the Red Guards, they "pledged their loyalty to Mao and the Party, and proclaimed their desire to carry the cultural Revolution to the end."[62] Furthermore, the Red Guards were armed with the "most powerful weapon," Mao Tse-tung thought.[63] In fact, the study of Mao's quotations was a national movement, since the stress was made clearly in the Sixteen-Point Decision, that the study and application of Mao's thought should be carried out intensively among all people in the Chinese People's Republic. Thousands and thousands of Mao's quotations were prepared in a red pocket-form and distributed to everyone throughout the nation.

Nevertheless, the significance of Mao Tse-tung's thought as observed by the Westerner, was "to create a setting in which the claims of the ideal are not at variance with the necessities of daily life."[64] Since Mao's prestige was a national asset, he was able to maintain unity even in an extreme conflict in politics,

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[62] K. H. Fan, The Chinese Cultural Revolution (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), p. 186.

[63] Liberation Army Daily, (June 7, 1966).

[64] John Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 12.

and yet the main emphasis was upon the immortal scriptures, not on the mortal man.[65]

After the entire nation was excited, and the temporary organization of government - the Revolutionary Committee of leading cadres, members of People's Liberation Army units, and the representative of the rebel groups - was set up, the cultural revolution was ready to seize the political power from the top persons in the Party authority, who were taking the capitalist line. In April, 1967, began a period of systematic analysis and criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i and repudiation of his policies. Following that, the cultural revolution entered a new phase. It turned inwardly to combat self interest and eradicate revisionism from one's own mind, because the cultural revolution "cannot be consolidated without the remoulding of the ideology of all the people."[66] In order to enable everyone to accept a new mode of thinking to eliminate self interest, "education must be reorganized from top to bottom so that the next generation will not be a new set of bourgeois intellectuals but will be trained to serve the people and to keep in touch with the masses.[67]

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[65] Joan Robinson, The Cultural Revolution in China (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 29.

[66] Ibid., p. 68.

[67] Ibid., p. 69.

b. Educational Policy. As indicated in the Sixteen-Point Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted in August, 1966, guidelines for educational reform were re-set in accordance with the spirit of the cultural revolution. The main points were: (1) to transform the old educational system, and the old principles and pedagogy, (2) to change the phenomenon of the bourgeois intellectual's domination of schools, (3) to apply thoroughly the policy of education advanced by Comrade Mao, (4) to shorten the cycle of schooling, (5) to reduce the number of courses but improve the quality, and (6) to have students learn industrial work, farming, and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur, in addition to their regular studies.[68]

Since the ongoing cultural revolution made teachers and students preoccupied with eliminating revisionists their ideas, and thus forced almost all schools to close down, the new educational policies were unable to put into effect. However, during this seemingly no-education period, some observers concluded that the Red Guards actually lost only schooling, not education.[69] The

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[68] Foreign Languages Press, Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), pp. 9-10.

[69] [illegible], The Cultural Revolution in China (New York: Faculty Press, Inc., undated), p. 11.

youth who had involved in the cultural revolution, obtained an entirely new structural concept, which seemed to prepare them to a new educational system that was to develop soon.

In January 1967, a more concrete educational reform plan derived from the Decision was drafted. The twenty-two specific derivatives seems to have the following unique features: (1) to abolish all examination system, evaluation was to be made by the "small learning group" through democratic process, no more entrance examination for schools; (2) to shorten the cycle of schooling--ten to fourteen years from the primary school to higher education; (3) to speed-up half-work half-study system; (4) to have all schools carry out military training; (5) to put special emphasis on Maoism in curriculum; (6) to have complete political control in schools; and (7) to abolish summer and winter vacations, and have students join productive labor.[70]

When the agreement was finally reached, "order was issued in March 1967 by the Central Committee calling the students back to school."[71] Tentative programs for educational revolution were written in November 1967; principally, the educational programs were based upon Mao's idea. In particular, Mao's May the Seventh

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[70] Wang Hsuan-tse, "Educational Reforms in Communist China," Studies on Chinese Communism, Vol. I, No. 2 (Feb. 28. 1967), Taiwan: The Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, pp. 80-82.

[illegible] "[illegible] in China," [illegible] (June 30 1967), p. 2.

Instruction of 1966 and the Sixteen-Point Decision of the Central Committee in 1966, were re-capitulated.[72] When Mao gave his new instruction on educational revolution in August, 1968, a fresh personnel, workers and soldiers, entered the school to play a vital role in decision-making on education. Many "work-peasant-soldier" teams were set up.[73] "These teams are establishing their dominion over educational and cultural establishments; many hundreds, from universities to primary schools, have been taken over."[74] It seemed apparent that the basic function of the worker-peasant-soldier team was not only remoulding, training and integrating students for revolutionary action and leadership, but hopefully through the participation, there would be a group of outstanding worker-cadres emerging to manage the schools and to strengthen every aspect of the state organs and the proletariats themselves would be deeply steeled in the class struggle.

Along this line, one educational policy was identified as popularization of local-established schools at the primary and secondary levels. The underlying principles of this educational

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[72] Wang Hsueh-wen, "An Analytical Study of the Chinese Communist Educational Revolution," Issues and Studies, Vol. 4, No. 7, (April, 1968), p. 26.

[73] Editorial, "China Mainland Schools under Management of the Working Class," Studies of Chinese Communism, Vol. 2, No. 10 (October, 1968), Taiwan: The Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, p. 1.

[74] New York Times, (September 5, 1968).

policy were: (1) to save education expenditure; (2) to destroy the capitalist intellectual's donimation of schools; (3) to make education popular; (4) to re-educate intellectuals; and (5) to cordinate youth education so that the youngsters will not leave the mass proletariats nor productive labor.[75]

Undoubtedly, after the cultural revolution, the education in the Chinese People's Republic advanced into another stage on socialist society, with a completely different structure and the heaviest emphasis on Maoism.

c. Curriculum Trends. When schools returned to a normal operation in 1968, the cycle of primary and secondary school years were cut down to nine or ten years; the number of subjects was reduced accordingly. Only five major areas of study were concentrated on. They were: political theory and practice, language, mathematics, military and physical training, and industrial and agricultural production. Mathematics and language were the sole traditional subjects retained, but their content was not as comprehensive as they used to be. In an effort to revolutionize education, Maoism has been incorporated in every subject, even in mathematics material. For example, a problem in arithmatic text, was stated in this manner:

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[75]Wang Chun, "An Analytical Study of the Chinese Communist Decision to 'Open Grade' Middle and Primary Schools for the [illegible]," Issues & Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2 (February 1969), Taiwan: The Institute for the Study of Chinese Communism, p. 65.

> Chairman Mao is the redest "red sun" in our heart; it is most fortunate to be able to see Chairman Mao. In 1968 on the national birthday, there were 150 representatives of capital workers, liberation army, Maoist propaganda teams, and the poor lower-middle peasants, to visit Chairman Mao; there were also 67 representatives of Red Guards and revolutionary public. How many representatives in total, were there to visit Chairman Mao?[76]

It should be noted that the basic principles for curriculum reform at the primary and secondary levels, apply to higher education as well. Courses in the universities and colleges have been reduced; professional courses are less important than political studies, and the content has been simplified along practical lines. For instance, in Peking University, students who are studying liberal arts, should learn industrial work, farming, and military knowledge with Mao's works as the major study supplemented with literature, history, philosophy, politics, law and other specialities. Two thirds of the teaching period must be allocated for the students to go out to learn from workers, peasants and soldiers.[77]

It is interesting to note that in regard to the military training, there was also a completely military organization in the school system, in addition to the class period of military

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[76]Hai Feng, "The Present Stage of Children Education in Communist China," China Monthly, No. 66, September 1 1969, (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute), p. 23.

[77]Chung Hu-min, "The Current Education Revolution in Reduced Higher Education in Mainland China," China Monthly, No. 67, October 1, 1969, (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute), p. 8.

training. Beginning in 1968, the names of principal, dean, director, and the like, gradually disappeared from the educational administration; instead there were sergeant, lieutenant, and major. The school organization was totally modeled after the army system in the Chinese People's Republic. One of many schools changing their organizational structure was praised in the People's Daily News: "Yin-Huang Elementary School successfully terminated its traditional class and director system, and was re-organized in accordance with the military structure--squad, platoon, etc."[78]

Moreover, the teaching staff who implement the prescribed curriculum are no longer limited to the teachers and the experts alone. Under the slogan of "learning skills from the workers, learning farming from peasants, and learning fighting from soldiers," there have been worker-teachers, peasant-teachers, and soldier-teachers.

At this point it seems difficult to tell whether the new educational structure is to facilitate the new educational program, or the new educational program is to strengthen the new educational structure. Perhaps, it may be fair to say that the present educational practice does seem to reinforce the

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[78] Wang Chun, "Military Training and Military Control of Primary and Middle Schools in Mainland China," Studies on Chinese Communism, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-12, Taipei: The Institute for the Study of Chinese Communism, p. 73.

reciprocal relationship of curriculum and structure. The question one is likely to ask, may be, how long will the new educational system last, and what will be the next?

## Summary

Since 1949 when the Chinese People's Republic was founded it is evident that the new regime has created its own political ideology, Maoism or "New Democracy," and a fresh chapter of Chinese history has unfolded. How long and how great the chapter will be is not our immediate concern; history will speak for itself later. However, the fact that there is a country of 700 million people led by a powerful leader, existing in this world, is undeniable. Within a period of twenty years, a period of transition to socialism, the country has experienced almost endless struggles, and numerous reforms have taken place.

As it was suggested previously, six identifiable political themes seem to have divided the twenty-year time span vividly, although they are over-lapping to a certain degree. The first period of 1949 to 1952 was a consolidation of the regime built, the second period of 1953 to 1957 concentrated on the Five-Year Plan with strong Soviet influence, the third period of 1958 to 1959 impressed the world with the movement of communes and the "Great Leap Forward," the fourth period of 1960 to 1963 proceeded cautiously

marked by a sharp two-line Party struggle, and the sixth period of 1966 to 1969 alarmed the world with the "Great Cultural Revolution" which means to prepare a new breed of generation.

Whatever the reforms are, education, as an integral part of the superstructure of a society, is always deeply involved. As Chen described "The Popularization of Higher Education in Communist China," he stressed:

> . . . education is only an aspect of the political and social order. Any change in basic political and economic policies calls for a corresponding change in education. There is no gap between school and society, no line of demarcation between formal and informal education.[79]

The power of education has been well recognized in the Chinese People's Republic. As Kelly stated:

> This logic explains the very high importance which the leadership attaches to the education system. While it is the chief engine of progress, it is also a natural source of heterodox beliefs. On the other hand, the Party believe education could be transformed into the surest and most sophisticated means of achieving comformity. . . . The main purpose of educational effort is to make a massive ideological impact, even to the point of deliberate sacrifice of time very much needed for more objectively educational and technical purpose.[80]

Thus, it is not surprising that in the six periods with different political emphases, education has been constantly reformed.

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[79]Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "The Popularization of Higher Education in Communist China," Information on Education Around the World No. 24 (August 1959) p. 9.

[80]Lawrence Kelly "The Thing of a Proletarian Intellectual: Higher Education and Cultural Revolution in China," Current Scene Vol. 4. No. 9. (October 21 1966), p. 2.

Despite the fact that educational policy and curriculum fluctuate, a firm and distinct base, from which all educational ideas spring always appears; i.e., Mao Tse-tung's basic philosophy, "New Democracy." Grounding his ideas in Marxism-Leninism and dialectic materialism, Mao has insisted on mass education led by proletariats, education for socialist consciousness and productivity and education to serve the class of proletariats, from the very beginning even prior to his formal assuming power.[81] It is, indeed, very consistent.

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81 Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China (New York: The Modern Library, 1944), pp. 254-255.

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